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ABSTRACT

The tenth part of a 10-part series, this report was compiled by the Educational Development Center at Wilkes College. The series deals with various aspects of the treatment of delinquents and is intended as a summary of research findings in each of the areas treated. Each report was prepared by a scholar-practitioner and is presented in a way that will be of value to professionals who deal both directly and indirectly with the treatment of delinquent youth. The report is, in fact, one manuscript of 627 pages; however, to make it more easily used, it is published in 10 separate parts. A detailed table of contents for the entire series is presented at the end of each part. This part discusses the three concepts of prevention, punishment and rehabilitation. Prevention is considered in the context of school, community and summer programs, and a number of models are described. The problem of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" often encountered by advocates of early identification is avoided by advocating programs designed to instruct all youth in social values, not just current or potential offenders. (Author)

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THE TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY SERIES
AN EDC REPORT

CHAPTER 10

Prevention, Punishment, and Rehabilitation

David A. Sabatino

Northern Illinois University

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Editor's Preface

This report is part of a ten part series compiled by the Educational Development Center at Wilkes College. The series deals with various aspects of the treatment of delinquents and is intended as a summary of research findings in each of the areas treated. Each report was prepared by a scholar-practitioner and is presented in a way that will be of value to those whose calling has led them to educational careers dealing both directly and indirectly with the treatment of delinquent youth. The report is, in fact, one manuscript of 627 pages; however, to make it more easily used, it is published in ten separate parts. A detailed table of contents for the entire series is presented at the end of this part.

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We invite any and all comments and/or inquiries concerning this series.

Joseph A. Skok, D.P.A.

Director
Educational Development Center

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CHAPTER X

PREVENTION, PUNISHMENT, AND REHABILITATION

David A. Sabatino

INTRODUCTION

The major descriptors that seemingly provide the most elucid description of the intervention strategies used in educational programs with norm-violating youths are prevention, punishment, and rehabilitation. These overlapping program descriptors represent the three horsemen of the chronically disruptive apocalypse, and permit grouping of specific types of intervention strategies. In fact, describing these three generic treatment categories as apocalyptic may be more than a symbolic relationship. The apocalypse is defined as the ultimate destruction of evil and restoration of good. The reduction and eventual elimination of socially disruptive behaviors in juvenile populations are the ultimate goals of correctional workers. To accomplish that goal, the three intervention categories must be mounted and maintained simultaneously, not letting one inhibit another, or promoting one at the expense of another. The inability to construct and coordinate a comprehensive

network of programs may be the primary reason delinquency programs have not succeeded in many instances.

Differentiating Correctional Typologies

Delinquency must be viewed at the community level in preventative terms, in a cooperative community treatment - residential treatment level as rehabilitation, and for some, punishment before rehabilitation, and unfortunately for others, punishment and not rehabilitation as a means of protecting society. The first-order undertaking is to describe the program within the context of the person needing service. Traditionally, the reverse has happened. People have received corrective or preventative intervention on the basis that the program should work for all those placed into it.

The Strategy and Planning Conference on child health and mental health, preceded by two White House conferences on children, resolved that the need for a systematic study of the problems of nonviolating youth was a major national priority. The participants at that conference suggested that a six-step process was necessary to derive a systematic procedure for dealing with the problems of youth.

This process-oriented systematic view should be used in obtaining a definition of the role and function of the various agencies

involved in working with youth in trouble. It should also be used to define program content.

The six steps in the breakdown of the systematic process are:

1. "First-order" problems with the children themselves. These are problems associated with disadvantage or disability: abandonment, drug abuse, delinquency, etc. Or, they are problems derived from normal-stream development, for example, children who suffer from the inadequacies of public education or other social classifying systems.
2. "Second-order" problems, which are in effect redefinitions or interpretations of first-order problems. For example: the problems of broken or inadequate families, or the dehumanizing physical and social environment of public housing projects.
3. Problems of the institutions directly involved with children, for example, child guidance clinics, elementary schools, and day-care centers.
4. "Systems" problems: problems in the interaction, horizontal or vertical, of organizations and agencies within the system.

5. Problems of innovation and change. These begin with the problems of obtaining meaningful research data on children and youth, to the incorporation of research results, to develop innovative programs, to the diffusion of innovations.

6. Problems of policy formation: the difficulties of establishing clear, sustained national policy relating to the well being of children, and the problems of making that policy effective at the state and community level.

There is a continually growing body of evidence which supports conjecture that increased treatment approaches have shown that delinquents respond very differently to given types of treatment. That is, treatment specific for one group of youth may, in fact, be harmful for another group of youth.

Lunden (1968) has prepared an excellent review of the major theories which have propelled treatment since the early 1900's.

> "In the past fifty years or more, successive theories have been 'created' which were supposed to have 'solved crime.' At one time the solution centred on environmental manipulations (bad housing causes crime; therefore, clear the slums and build better houses). Then came the psychological protagonists (mental deficiency is the cause; therefore, develop clinics to deal with antisocial people). Hard upon the heels of these rode the physical education champions who advocated more and better sports and recreation. Then came the special contingent of psychiatrists who did battle with the problem of deep personality conflicts, ego suppression, and 'fractured chunks of unorganized

> conscience.' These demanded more and better psychiatric clinics to uncover the personality disorders of offenders. Latest to arrive on the field of battle is the 'total child approach: groups who have found the cause and the cure of crime in improved child-rearing formulae.' Now, just coming over the horizon, appears still another brigade of researchers in shining armor (with unlimited funds) to enter the lists, flying the banner of psychosomatic involvements, searching out the delinquency-prone individuals in society. In addition, there are a number of axillary groups under various flags of 'group dynamics,' group therapy, and 'child-parent revitalization approaches.' Each and all of the 'warriors against crime' represent noble and laudable ambitions and efforts to prevent crime, but the fact remains that we already know more about the causes of delinquency than we do about the means of controlling it. Furthermore, it does appear that crime is more of a 'hydra' than a firebreathing dragon which may be killed by one well-directed thrust of the Siegfriedian sword.' (Lunden, 1968, p. 27)

The outstanding difficulty in developing a continuum of connected treatment typologies has been the absence of a conceptual framework for planning interventions. A successful conceptual framework is essential for both administrative understanding and programmatic decision making. One of the reasons for the absence of a conceptual framework is that all chronically disruptive youth are viewed as a group having similar characteristics. There has not been a major effort to establish an appropriate range of treatment settings in the community. Youth are still assigned to an institutional program or, in particular, a school program on the basis of IQ, age, interests, and what they were doing in the home, community, school, or job, far more often than on the basis of their social skills or attitude to want to adapt to society at large. Rehabilitation is

generally applied to everyone, with no basis, except the belief that it should be good for them. The greatest difficulty with rehabilitation is that it cannot be given to the consumer, it must be accepted.

It will remain impossible to attempt to enumerate many specific treatment interventions until enough is really known about chronically disruptive or norm-violating youth. It is even difficult to find systematic behavioral analyses of adjudicated youth, especially from an educational reference. It is our strong belief that before a prevention, rehabilitation, or punishment effort can be undertaken, some effort to describe the essential characteristics of a given youth are necessary. Many of these means have been reported in the Diagnostic Chapter. The factors listed below are a few of the meaningful variables related to determining a given youth's program needs.

1) Philosophy and treatment aims for specific programs.

2) Setting for treatment, including size and nature of living groups.

3) Budgeting and administrative control.

4) Relationship of community agencies to residential programs.

5) Type of intake selection data.

6) Determining sentence, release, or pre-release conditions.

7) Age groupings.

8) Selection and qualities of treatment personnel.

9) Inservice training and development of staff awareness, understanding, insight, and the ability to take part in a wide range of relationships.

10) Balancing residential treatment and living with community treatment and living.

11) Role and nature of punishment.

12) Facilities consideration.

13) Recreational consideration.

14) Medical participation.

15) Specific preventative measures designed to inhibit delinquent subculture and attitudes.

16) Family involvement and preparation for return to the community with continuation of preventative programs.

Punishment

Eisner (1969) wrote the following description of the prevention-punishment-rehabilitation continuum:

> "Measures for combating delinquency can be divided into punishment of individual delinquents, rehabilitation of delinquents or pre-delinquents, and changes in the environment that produces delinquency. . . Both punishment and rehabilitation have a place in delinquency control, and it is not suggested that we abandon them; nevertheless, I believe that we have overused punishment in the past and should now restrict its use and that we must undertake rehabilitation with a new viewpoint before we can do it successfully."
>
> (Eisner, 1969, p. 3)

Eisner's reasoning is derived from both good judgment and factually proven work with socially disruptive youth. Probably because of the political instability reflected in law enforcement, corrections, and even education, there is a tendency to try this, and then try that approach. Seldom have we sought to achieve a balanced continuum of programs and services representing prevention, punishment, and rehabilitation, or more importantly a means of reliably differentiating youth into one or more of the programs that are outgrowths of three programmatic areas of concern. Far too frequently, a political party finds fault with a current correctional practice, only to have the other party find fault and change programs around again. There are only so many alternatives under the umbrella of prevention, punishment, and rehabilitation that can be utilized. Why, then, do we continue to discard or abandon this one or that one? Punishment is certainly an example of a programmatic format to correct norm-violating behavior that causes many eyebrows to raise. There are those who believe that punishment is the absolute antithesis of everything that is positive and good and must be replaced by modern day behavioral modification. Those who believe that punishment has no place in treatment alternatives are naive and have failed to recognize it as one of the primary principles underlying behavioral modification. For those who think that only positive reward valances modify behavior, their understanding of behavioral modification is not complete.

Eisner and Tsuyemura (1965) have taken a very sound position when they suggest that:

> "We can no more abandon punishment of delinquents than we can abandon the medical treatment of a patient who has contracted cholera. But punishment is an effective measure of social control only when it is applied to a small proportion of the population. If too many people are punished, the result can be rebellion. If only a few people who have committed the worst offense are punished, others will be deterred from similar offenses. In an ideal situation, delinquency labeling should become what K. T. Erickson (1964, pp. 13-14) has called a 'boundary maintaining mechanism.' In his view, the interactions of members of a society with law-enforcement officers serve as a visible reminder to other members of the society of the limits of permissible conduct in that society. These interactions serve to mark the outside limits of the area within which the norm has jurisdiction, and in this way assert how much diversity and variability can be contained within the system before it begins to lose its distinct structure, its cultural integrity."
>
> (Eisner & Tsuyemura, 1965, p. 689)

The difficulty with punishment is that some have seen it as a routine form of treatment for undifferentiated populations. When youthful residents in correctional institutions successfully respond to rehabilitation but are mixed indiscriminately with others who don't, the values of rehabilitative efforts appear reduced, and the effect on treatment staff and public attitude toward rehabilitative treatment is tragic.

Hardy and Cull (1973) see most institutions as a natural extension of criminal training. They describe a first offender as a youth who has stolen an automobile and is now incarcerated. Initiation to prison life may consist of being forced into homosexual behavior by the

stronger inmates. Third and fourth "timers" can teach a great deal about how to be more successful in stealing automobiles and committing other socially injurious acts. The possibility of meeting others who have connections to make "crime pay" and to get jobs in crime once prison training is completed is a very real happening. One of the major difficulties will be getting work with an "institutional record." Institutions have their own values and they may be totally in opposition to rehabilitation for some inmates.

> "The taking from the weak by the strong is accepted. Those who can defraud others and get away with it are the most highly respected members of this community. The person who can 'con' the psychologist or the counselor or the other inmates is also highly respected."
> (Hardy & Cull, 1973, p. 12)

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark has called prisons factories of crime. He notes that the prison system is sometimes administered by officials with less mental ability than the inmates.

The use of prisons as societal vaccines has actually increased the amount of criminal behavior which the public must bear. There must be massive rehabilitation programs to provide for those who can be returned to society with new social attitudes and skills for living. For others, full length sentences and protection of society must be provided. That is not to say that we are in support of punishment. We are not in support of any one sole programmatic effort; rather, we support a coordinated and balanced program of prevention, rehabilitation, and punishment depending upon a realistic determination of the

resident's current attitude, abilities, and other traits. The realistic determination will be based on ascertaining meaningful information not yet available through current personological measurement and observation. It is certainly an error that the opportunity to develop predictive measures and even test their validity with pre-release and community-based populations has failed to occur on any scale at all. Many other errors of human short-sidedness have also occurred in the name of prison reform and rehabilitation.

The modern social scientist has continued to view punishment as the antithesis of treatment. He points to the history of penology and notes that it has failed to deter criminal behavior. Punishment as an entity in preventing crime is an outworn concept. The behavioral scientist has enjoyed a fairly aggressive attack on society's maintenance of punishment. It should be understood that when the social sciences began this attack, there was really no alternative other than punishment as a treatment typology. The neo-Freudians advocated that punishment only tended to increase criminal behavior because it supplied the criminal with the unconscious drive to commit forbidden acts. Reik (1959) has written that punishment is "under certain psychological extremely common conditions in our culture, the most dangerous unconscious stimulus for crime because it serves the gratification of the unconscious feelings of guilt, which presses toward a forbidden act." (p. 65).

If the proof of the pudding is in the eating, most certainly the promise of the psychological explanations to crime and its prevention have proven to be more disastrous than punishment. Cruel, harsh capital punishment is obviously extracting a full measure of payment from a nonconforming act against society. Long uninterrupted sentencing may also be on shaky ground as it fails to differentiate the salvageable individual from the unsalvageable. Until such time that accurate prediction can be established between those rehabilitable and those who will only return to crime, the crudeness of punishment as a defensive action against criminal acts must be maintained. Society provides punishment for other reasons than to treat or extract its "pound of flesh." It provides punishment to clarify in the minds of the societal members what is "good" and what is "bad" for the welfare of the social order. Punishment is a basic consideration in establishing a code and a moral structure for society. It is true that the enforcement of moral structure can also get out of hand and be detrimental to the society it was designed to protect. Moral structure, as it is applied to the governance of society, can be corrupted. Laws and their enforcement are accomplished by men; the human elements of fear, prejudice, and hatred can overpower the balance of societal maintenance necessary for a stable order. Lunden (1968) provides a sobering summary on the current reality in corrections.

> "No matter how intricate a theory may become, the fact remains that, if there is no social or moral force behind efforts to keep criminals from doing wrong, how can the social order be preserved? If or when theoreticians advance some means of maintaining social solidarity other than by punishment, then it may be discarded as an outmoded principle of control or prevention. Though it may seem brutal, as long as man remains a non-rational being, it appears that society will have to protect itself. Here, then, is another barrier to crime prevention--the failure to understand that the basic issue in crime prevention is a moral issue and that the bonds which hold society together are moral bonds."
>
> (Lunden, 1968, p. 24)

View punishment as you will--an insult to the human race, a necessary evil, an absurd act counter opposed to love, kindness, humaneness, the spoiler of behavioral modification; it still remains necessary at this time. It, like rehabilitative interventions, has been offered as a single cure for society. That is not true and never will be. But to remove the right of society to retaliate against those who abuse the weaker of society's members, or take advantage of society, a balance of controlling power would dominate the land. We must achieve a balanced program of events, identifying through differentiation where and with whom punishment, prevention, or rehabilitation is necessary.

Prevention

Workers in the mental health fields have constructed three levels of prevention: primary, secondary, and tertiary.

Primary prevention has as its aims the early identification and eradication of a problem before it draws attention to itself as a disability or debilitating condition. It is not uncommon to hear kindergarten or early elementary teachers describe a child as one who is likely to be brought to the attention of the school and juvenile court officials at some time in his life. The reason usually stems around two things: (1) the family attitude and previous history of the siblings and (2) the child's attitude toward peers and authority figures. The major difficulty with early identification is that delinquency in a legal sense is like being pregnant--the child has been adjudicated or he hasn't. Degreedness, or the shadow cast by a continuum of delinquency proneness, has been a very sensitive issue. Think how difficult it might be for an elementary school counselor to address the parents of a kindergarten child as to his potentiality for becoming a delinquent.

Secondary prevention is the much more common approach. It, too, requires identification, but of an acute problem preferably at a time of crisis. The major aims of a secondary preventative effort are to provide a program geared to eliminate the cause of the problem before the symptoms become any more severe. Special reading programs for particular groups of students, tutorial-therapy programs which provide for increased academic achievement, and a change of attitude toward self and school are examples. One example which has achieved a good deal of praise as a highly successful venture is so-called crisis intervention. The technique was described in

Chapter VI. The aim of crisis intervention is to have a teacher with specialized preparation in human interaction skills confront the child at the time of crisis, during the time of an aggressive act, passive withdrawal state, or emotional blow-up in the classroom or on the playground.

Tertiary prevention can be used synonomously with the term rehabilitation. It is preventative only in that if intervention alleviates a chronic problem, the individual may be restored to a state of useful functioning in society.

Bower (1964) lists five major deterrents to implementing primary and secondary preventative programs. They are as follows:

1. The complexity of the problem has the capability of stumping the various disciplines which work on it. In scope of size alone it is easier, and frequently a necessity, to confront crisis and forget about gathering storms. Issues such as school failure, school attendance, poverty, racial difficulties, can be understood as full-blown problems but not as issues in the making.

2. Therefore, most professional workers view themselves as active interveners once a problem has been identified, not passive planners directed at preventing a problem.

3. The attitudes of society and the schools have much to do with the inability to find the funds to prepare preventative programs. In Illinois today (1975), the governor has vocally attacked all rehabilitation efforts as high risk ventures, calling for a return of full-term sentences and abolishment of probation entirely. That attitude reflects a politician attempting to prepare for a gubernatorial race in nine months. A return to law and order and a clean definition of societal right and wrong is easy to understand,

especially when faced with the dubious success of preventative programs. There are those who would say that if wrong is chosen, then how could the values defining the choice have been prevented? There is also the right of those who would feel the finger of prevention as discriminatory, racist, and an invasion of privacy. Most parents are not willing to accept emotionally a delinquent child's behavior, even when evidence is readily available. The defense mechanism of parental denial is frequently in operation.

4. The values of good and evil are frequently seen by society as resulting in their own reward. If a youth falls error to evil, then he must pay the price. If there is a right to commit a crime, then there is a responsibility to suffer the consequences.

5. Finally, professionals do not agree as to what constitutes prevention. If delinquency is a problem of human values, how can a delinquent act be prevented except by providing one set of societal values, and is not that an obstruction of the democratic process--the right for each man to choose?

Primary Prevention: A Responsibility of the Schools

There is a passage in an introductory text in Educational Administration that raises the question as to the legal and moral responsibility of the schools. The issue was--should a school provide books? If books are provided on the basis of a free public school education designed to enhance the maximum potential of all students, then shouldn't schools provide nourishing lunches? And if nourishment has a direct relationship on learning, then shouldn't schools provide shoes? The point of the discussion is well taken. Where is the end?

With the advent of the "right to education" decision, the public schools in many states have the responsibility for finding and educating sub-trainable (severe and profoundly retarded) children.

Traditionally, the public schools have never been sure of their legal or moral right or responsibility to teach values or interfere in predicting a problem and advising parents of a potential difficulty.

Oppenheimer and Mandel (1959) have reported that youngsters do manifest symptoms of social-emotional maladjustment prior to kindergarten entrance. They concluded that children likely to experience later emotional problems could be identified at the first grade level. Lambert and Bower (1961) have reported that 90 percent of elementary school age children identified as being potential juvenile delinquents by teachers were also found to be so labeled by clinicians. Public school teachers do have the ability to reliably detect delinquency proneness. It must be remembered that only one-third to one-half of all youth committing a delinquent act do come to the attention of the court. Most delinquent youth do not become adult criminals, although those with high degrees of recividism do. In short, the relativeness of a criminal act makes the prediction and parental arousal of delinquency quite a different matter than predicting mental retardation or dental cavities. It is even true that some children "outgrow" socially disruptive problem proneness before it does become chronic, and it is equally true that some children enter into problemmatic periods in their lives. Delinquency is a relative social condition; it is about as

easy to identify early as it is to rehabilitate, and our success at both has been minimal.

Early Identification and Early Prevention

Since false positives and false negatives can be identified in any population of youth in a search to distinguish those who are or may be delinquent, a wiser course of action may be programs designed to instruct all youth in social values, not just known adjudicated delinquent youth. This action of not labeling a child as delinquent, while directing program instruction at teaching values, developing self-concept, and preparing one for life's experiences, is sound. Labeling has the risk of reinforcing the child to become what he is called. Self-fulfilling prophecy has long been held as a sure cause of delinquency. Convince a child he is "bad" and he will have reason to live up to that expectation. Delinquency could have its beginning in the teacher's or parent's mouth, as it is reinforced in the child's ear.

An Instructional Approach

One instructional approach has been described by Ojemann (1967) which emphasizes a causal orientation to the child's world.

By incorporating behavior-science concepts into a curriculum which focuses on the causes or motivations of human behavior--as opposed to the observable behavioral aspects--Ojemann hoped that the student would be better prepared to solve problems confronting him at the time and in the future. The basic rationale is that a person who becomes more fully aware and appreciative of the dynamics of human behavior in general and of his own in particular is better able to cope with personal and social crises. As a dynamic approach it involves an awareness of the probabilistic nature of human behavior, an attitude of flexibility and tolerance, and an ability to view a given situation from another's perspective.

Ojemann (1967) contends that a sensible arrangement is to establish a foundation in the causal approach to behavior, starting in kindergarten. Then, as the child continues through the grades, he can add to this foundation and apply such a base to the study of marriage and family relationships, employer-employee interactions, and so forth. This approach not only enables the child to surmount current crises but also establishes a foundation for the solution of crises in later development.

Ojemann stresses the need for the teacher "to live a causal approach in the classroom." As a modeling procedure, daily associations with a teacher who handles situations in an understanding way can go far in developing a causal approach to life.

One teacher strategy used during the primary grades consists of narratives in which observable and causal approaches are contrasted. In kindergarten and first grade, the teacher reads the narratives. In later grades, the child reads them by himself. Each narrative depicts a situation in which a character in the story must respond initially, and then once again, after he has thought through the situation a second time. Realistic stories are used. To promote a more generalized approach, stories are described involving children older and younger than himself as well as those from different environments. Discussion focusing on the meaning and causes of the behavior in question follows each narrative.

At the elementary and secondary levels, the social sciences and English literature offer numerous opportunities to study the forces influencing the behavior of people. Even in areas such as math and science, the teacher can serve as a model for this type of approach.

Evaluations of this approach to date have been promising. The results of more than a dozen research studies indicate that an "appreciation of the dynamics of behavior is accompanied by significant changes in such dimensions as manifest anxiety, tendency to immediate arbitrary punitiveness, anti-democratic tendencies, conception of the teacher, and tolerance of ambiguity." (Ojemann, 1967, p. 199.)

THE SURFACE VERSUS THE CAUSAL APPROACH OF THE TEACHER TO CHILD BEHAVIOR

(Surface Versus Causal Approaches to Children's Behavior - Lafferty, Dennerll, & Rettich, 1964)

Surface	Causal
1. The teacher responds to the "what" of the situation in an emotional way.	1. The teacher responds to the "why" of the situation objectively.
2. The teacher does not appear to think of the causes of behavior when he: a. responds to the action rather than to the reason for the action. b. labels behavior as "good," "bad," etc. c. makes generalizations to apply to every situation, e.g., "all boys are like that." d. responds with a stock solution or rule of thumb procedure, e.g., lateness is punished by staying in after school.	2. The teacher appears to be thinking of the causes of behavior when he: a. runs over in his mind possible reasons for the action. b. seeks the meaning of the behavior and avoids snap judgments or hasty interpretations. c. searches for specific and concrete clues derived from details of the behavior. d. varies the method; uses a tentative approach, i.e., will try other ways of dealing with a situation if one does not work. In seeking a solution, he takes into account motivating forces and particular method used.
3. The teacher does not take account of the multiplicity and complexity of causes.	3. The teacher thinks of alternative explanations for the behavior. The proposition that behavior has many causes may be elaborated as follows: a. the same cause may result in a variety of behaviors. b. a variety of causes may result in similar behavior.
4. The teacher fails to take into account the later effects of the techniques employed and assumes the effects.	4. The teacher checks for the effects of the method he employs and considers its effects before using it.
5. The "surface" approach is characterized by a rigidity of techniques, essentially static.	5. The "causal" approach is characterized by a flexibility, a tentativeness, a trying-out technique, which accommodates new information as it is accumulated, essentially dynamic.

An Elementary School Preventative Effort

A preventative services coordination program in elementary schools is described by Powell (1973). A statewide survey of more than 600 agency representatives was conducted by the unit in an effort to pinpoint youth problems and develop a statewide plan to cope with delinquency. The survey revealed an overwhelming need for preventative programs, and especially those for children in the early grades of public school. Addressing the problem even before the statewide report was completed, a two-year grant was awarded at $110,508 under the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act (1968).

1) A teacher's "worry clinic" was organized, bringing a psychologist from a local agency to meet monthly with teachers to discuss related issues.

2) A tutoring program was developed, utilizing volunteers from a church in the community and members of a Future Teachers of America club.

3) A big brother-, big sister-type program was begun, involving volunteers from a local university.

4) Four counseling groups were initiated--three for students and one for parents.

5) A community club was formed which provided manpower for constructing a schoolroom and bought playground equipment.

6) A local civic club provided books.

7) Nursing students took an active role.

8) Consultation by university personnel was provided to help teachers with acute reading problems.

(Powell, 1973, pp. 383-384)

The coordinator communicated with parents about their children's problems, assisted them to appropriate resources, followed up to assess the effectiveness of the service, and provided feedback to the source of referral. The coordinator attempted to involve parents and agency representatives in school programs, and school representatives and parents in other community activities.

> "Service coordinators (social workers) were placed in four elementary schools as referral resources to school personnel, the basic target group being kindergarten through third grade. The coordinators were not counselors; rather, they were to consult with teachers, accept referrals, make contact with parents, and facilitate referral to community resources. Also critical to the role was that coordinators helped existing agencies and groups develop new services to deal with problems for which no resource existed. Thus, the method employed was community organization, in contrast to casework or group work."
>
> (Powell, 1973, p. 385)

A total of 1,043 students made up the target group in the four schools. Specifically, this included all pupils in grades K-3 in two schools, K-4 in one school, and 1-3 in the other. Any of these pupils was eligible for referral to the service coordinator for any reason the teacher deemed appropriate.

There were few clinically significant referrals, and fewer dramatic success stories. Most of the children referred needed glasses or dental work or a coat or help in obtaining counseling services. What many pupils needed most was an advocate for them so that they and their families could tap existing resources.

Of the 1,043 children, 203 (19%) were referred the first year, 342 (33%) the second year for a wide variety of reasons. These figures tend to support the survey data expressing a need for help in the early grade school years. The schools selected were generally in lower socioeconomic neighborhoods; but in these schools at least, a sizable percentage of preprimary and primary grade pupils presented school staff with observable problems requiring some action.

Most of the pupils who came to the attention of the service coordinator were referred by teachers for physical reasons. This fact demonstrates the need for schools to have ready access to resources dealing with medical problems, if not within the school system, certainly in the community.

The positive results of the program were not achieved without some difficulties. The primary difficulties were those normally expected when functioning in any school setting. Some school staff attempted to place the coordinator in a counseling role. Resistance and suspicion of the program were evident in two schools initially.

In the final analysis, it was the schools' staffs and service committees that enabled the coordinators to overcome the difficulties. With the willingness of all agency representatives to discuss openly areas of misunderstanding, problems were resolved in an atmosphere of objectivity and concern for pupils.

A Secondary School Preventative Effort

A different type of experimental program was established in secondary schools under California legislation in the Sacramento City Schools in the form of an Opportunity School.

The overall goal of the Opportunity School was to accept chronically disruptive students and return them to their home schools as early as possible. Efforts were made to upgrade the student's achievement, attitudes toward school, and make students aware of the world of work.

Students may enroll in classes only with the concurrence, in writing, of the parent, the psychologist, and the home school principal. In the event parent and principal agreement is not reached, cases may be referred to the district hearing officer. Pupils are assigned for one semester at a time.

The following objectives must be satisfied before youth can be returned to regular schools:

1. Attendance
   Complete one semester with no more than one truancy or five class tardies.

2. Behavior
   Earn a "B" grade in conduct for one semester based on the following:
   a. Arrive at class on time.
   b. Know and obey school rules.
   c. Obey teachers. Be respectful and courteous.
   d. Respect the rights of others.
   e. Take reasonable care of school property.

2. f. Exert reasonable effort to do assignments.
   g. Use no foul language or loud talk.
   h. Do not possess tobacco or narcotic drugs.
   i. Do not fight, threaten, or promote trouble.
   j. Abide by the bus rules.

3. Achievement
   a. Achieve within one grade of school, grade placement, or improve one grade level in reading, arithmetic, and spelling during the period in which enrolled, as measured by standardized tests.
   b. Complete 75 daily units of work satisfactorily in communications and arithmetic.
   c. Complete one course at the home school with a grade of "C/C" or better.

4. Work-World Familiarization
   a. Complete required field trips with satisfactory reports from the teacher.
   b. Submit a verbal or written report to the communications teacher on two work areas after discussing them with parents.

(Parker & Masuda, 1971, p. 41)

Course offerings were flexible, with considerable freedom for teachers to find the best teaching method. The minimum amount of instruction was 180 minutes daily.

Heavy emphasis was placed on individual programs tailored to achievement and interest levels. Short-term units of work were preferable. Workbooks, regular books, and special materials were torn apart and reassembled by achievement level and interest. When a student completed a unit, he received appropriate credit and began the next unit, in a self-pacing manner.

Two regular class periods in communication served as the basic teaching unit. It involved verbal and written communication

between people. It may also have involved public speaking, reading to others or to one's self, basic grammar, spelling, social studies, newspapers, or geography. Math, crafts, homemaking, electronics, and physical education made up the rest of the required schedule. Students were given choices in the "elective" whenever possible. Crafts seemed to be the course with universal appeal to both boys and girls.

Activities that were avoided were general assemblies, field trips, and mandatory homework. Homework was assigned only if the family desired it. All trips were confined to job-related experiences and juvenile prisons.

A paraprofessional teacher assistant was assigned to each class. They were employed on the basis of their proven interest in working with deviant young persons. The ratio of 15 students to one teacher and one aide was always maintained. Both teachers and aides were expected to demonstrate a good sense of humor. They were required to function calmly under pressure and show no reaction to foul language or other forms of misconduct. Thirty-seven percent of the youth were recommended for full-time return to the regular school program. An additional 30 percent were recommended for continuance in the Opportunity School program with part-time enrollment at their home schools. The remaining 33 percent had either showed limited progress or had been in the program only a short time.

Parker and Masuda (1971) write that "there is no magic involved in this procedure for rehabilitation. There is no unique or unusual experimentation, only constant application of the basic learning and psychological principles that all teachers studied in their general education and psychology courses. There is also an honest effort by the entire staff to maintain at all times a cool head, a warm heart, and a firm hand."(p. 45).

The opportunity school program was well received by both parents and school officials. In the words of the authors, it provided the chronically disruptive juveniles that attended the following benefits:

> Problem students can be helped. Some continue to fail, however, partly due to the school's inability to control the individual's environment completely for an extended period of time. The cost of training or educating such students is somewhat higher than educating average students in a regular program. Schools and their communities all too frequently are reluctant to face this fact; but, as a consequence, they eventually are forced to accept the financial burden of persons incapable of regular employment after leaving school who swell the welfare rolls as unproductive citizens.
>
> Ethnic, social, and economic factors must be taken into account in the planning and budgeting of a program specially designed for problem students.
>
> (Parker & Masuda, 1971, p. 38)

Vocational Preparation as Prevention

In still another secondary preventative effort, Shore and Massimo (1969) have described a program which focuses on the

theoretical underpinnings found in the concept of alienation. Alienation is a learned attitude or feeling, based on opinion of one's views of self in relationship to society, as being meaningless, bored, lost. There is the emptiness associated with the loss of any clearly identified social referent. The preventative effort was termed "comprehensive vocationally-oriented psychotherapy." It was aimed at a target group of youth who have displayed a chronic pattern of antisocial behavior and severe school problems, which are evidenced in suspensions from school or dropping out of school.

The comprehensive vocationally-oriented psychotherapy was based on two principles of crisis intervention. First, the youth was contacted within 24 hours after he had left school. This contact was usually a telephone call suggesting that the therapist meet the boy at his convenience. Every effort was made to keep the contact from being associated with a school setting or other social institution.

The therapist would suggest that he might be of help in finding the youth a job. The job focus was most appealing to the boys, and it was that focus that gained cooperation.

Jobs in this program had a different orientation from most other programs. Unlike the usual vocational guidance services where the names of employers are taken from a preselected list, the boy was prepared to meet the boss. The therapist might role-play a job interview to help the boy deal with the anxieties he might encounter in the interview. The therapist might take the boy on a field trip to

explore what openings were available and what skills were needed to obtain a job the boy wanted. Usually, the therapist accompanied the boy to the first job interview. The therapist was available after the interview and if the youth wasn't hired, a discussion of the reasons explained why very carefully. It was a point that the boy and the therapist were able to discuss and to work on frustrations resulting from not gaining certain things immediately.

The need for remedial education and help with personal problems also became more and more evident. Within the concrete situation of the job, individualized educational programs were set up. The therapist played many roles. At one time the therapist acted as a teacher or assisted him in getting help from certain remedial resources in the community. As a teacher he might, for example, help a boy learn the driver's manual. Another time, the therapist played the role of vocational counselor, finding jobs, filling out forms, and dealing with other issues related to employment. The therapist might play the role of therapist and work out personal problems. At all times, even at night, the therapist was available to discuss issues. There was no preset appointment time nor was there a set length or place for the interview. Throughout this preventative effort, the issue was nonverbal, concrete activities that had therapeutic relevance.

Shore and Massimo (1969) evaluate their program as a success. Their major findings in this controlled study were that the 10 subjects

in the experimental groups improved significantly in all achievement and personality areas measured. Other changes were:

> Clinical insights played a major role in helping the boy not only to obtain work but also to profit from employment and to develop his personality as well as his skills. The importance of the individual and his psychodynamics was always at the forefront of the program. We feel that what we learned from our experience has implications for schools, some of which at the present time are reevaluating their counseling programs for delinquent and predelinquent youths based on a better understanding of the complexity of the problem. As the boys became more socialized and less actively aggressive, they were able to learn in all areas.
>
> (Shore & Massimo, 1969, p. 30)

They found an increase in verbalization associated with a reduction in antisocial behavior. They found that delinquent boys became less preoccupied with people, especially over hostility and aggressive aspects and used words more descriptively to elaborate positive feelings towards others.

Special Summer Programs

Georgiady and Romano (1970) report on a summer program called "TOPS," ("Teen-Age Opportunity Programs in Summer"). It was instituted to examine existing promising programs for youth in the summer months, and to recommend guidelines for new ones.

The three major questions investigated were: (1) What are the unmet needs of youth in the summer? (2) How extensive are the summer

youth programs developed by educational agencies and other community agencies now in operation in six states? (3) What suggestions can provide leadership in developing needed summer youth programs?

A survey instrument determined the number of youth summer programs within each of the participating states. The data are summarized by states and by categories.

In Michigan, Ohio, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, a significant number of schools did not provide summer programs. Illinois undertook only a limited number, and Florida conducted a total program.

Local tax funds were used in all states for summer programs. State funds were used predominantly in Florida. Limited funds were available to schools from private or foundation sources. All states except Florida supported their summer programs through tuition fees or a combination of tuition fees and local tax funds.

The majority of summer programs in the participating states were held either for the morning period only or all day. A small percent extended from 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. The vast majority of school-sponsored summer programs were conducted on a voluntary basis.

The basic focus of the summer programs in Michigan and Pennsylvania was on recreational rather than academic purposes. Ohio, Illinois, and New Jersey focused on academic programs. Florida stressed educational enrichment. The majority of the programs were considered to be moderately to highly successful. Forty percent of the

Michigan schools reported that positive changes in attitudes and behaviors occurred.

The major findings are well worth a very careful reading, especially in light of our survey of institutional educational programs reported in Chapter IX. One tremendously significant finding drawn from the study was that the majority of the programs (creative and innovative) were administered by agencies free from several restrictions which inhibit nontraditional program development. The major inhibitors, according to the study, were the Carnegie Unit, grades or marks, a close association and pre-occupation with academic courses per se, and other similar concerns. Further, it was found that in a number of instances, both students and instructors raised the question of why this freedom from traditional concerns and a refreshing and exciting creativity and innovativeness could not be extended to programs conducted in schools during the school year. Needless to say, this is a much desired development and one which deserves warm encouragement in the future.

Georgiady and Romano conclude that the most pressing problems were the lack of qualified teachers and staff.

Their list of creative recommendations for summer programs are excellent.

1) Cultural Exchanges - The purpose is to promote the cultural and social development of youth. The exchange includes the desirability of permitting the populace of the host community as well as the quest to learn about each other.

2) Youth Business Ventures - This gives youth the chance to work towards tangible goals--money--by becoming involved in community business pursuits which provide practical first-hand experience.

3) Exploratory Job Experiences - This provides youth the opportunity to explore interests in one or more given vocations in an effort to ascertain whether those vocations really hold an interest for them.

4) Summer Theater - The creative and therapeutic value of the expressive arts provide several benefits including opportunities for self-expression and total enjoyment.

5) Youth Hostel - Travel - Youth would be served by the development of better means for them to travel inexpensively and informally.

6) Beautification and Site Development Programs - Youth who organize into teams to convert areas into recreational sites are provided with a challenge of substance. This increases the respect for youth by the community.

7) Voice of Youth Programs - The programs, usually in the form of a forum, are oriented towards bringing youth into direct constructive contact with problems and issues of their times.

8) Cultural Enrichment Programs - This program promotes the "one world" idea where people enjoy "being different together." Vicarious experiences can be provided through documentary films, tapes, and pictures to promote the "one world" concept.

9) Personal Service Centers - These centers provide youth with individual and group therapy through "understanding clinic" where they could be involved in solving their own problems.

10) Hobby Center - The center is manned and operated by youth who plan a program appropriate to their needs, and it provides them with valuable planning experience and responsibility.

11) Youth Canteens or Clubs - These provide a legitimate place for youth to gather and socialize, thus eliminating the street-corner meetings.

12) Youth Volunteer Service Programs - A community service office for youth would serve as a clearinghouse for requests for assistance and for youth offering their services.

13) Summer Youth Olympics - Athletic competition among youth would promote understanding, cooperation, and sportsmanship.

14) Fine Arts Festival - With a fine arts festival, the youth would be offered an opportunity to explore interests in arts and crafts and music.

Community-Based Prevention

Poorkaj and Bockelman (1973) have developed a community prevention program drawing on volunteers. It is based on the norm-containment theory of Reckless (1962). That theory describes and differentiates the internal control of man over his own actions, and external control of man by the social system. According to the theory, the normal occurrence of well-developed internal controls by adolescents has been lost in a breakdown of family and societal value structures. Therefore, many adolescents don't have the internal controls, and yet they have the instinctive desire to break dependency bonds with controlling social forces. The study was set up under experimental conditions.

A total population of 54 students, ages 9 through 12, were assigned to the program (27 to the experimental group and 27 to the control group).

In analyzing current literature describing the "predictive instruments" that have been developed for use in the prevention of delinquency, it is evident that as yet no scale can adequately predict delinquency proneness. At best, such scales are confined to identifying only those students who score in the extreme ranges of the scales used. For example, there are methodological weaknesses in not only the Glueck Prediction Table but also in the Kvaraceus Delinquency Scale and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. The criticisms of the predictive devices have been as abundant as the explanations of their use.

The following three scales were developed for the present study:

1) Social Responsibility Scale (SRS)

   This scale was designed by Berkowitz and Lutterman to assess a person's traditional social responsibility and orientation toward helping others.

2) Volunteer's Reporting Form

   This scale was designed to assess the degree of participation with the delinquency-prone child.

3) Questionnaire on Community Organizations

Twelve questions with three subcategories were developed to ascertain the child's belonging to or wanting to join a community organization.

Selections of volunteers were made by the county probation department. Criteria for the selection of a volunteer included the general ability to relate to adults and children in a meaningful way, the potential capacity for reflecting an amiable disposition, and, in general, mentally healthy attitudes. Applicants were also screened through an extensive Department of Motor Vehicles' record check.

Several sessions were held for training and answering the many questions of the volunteers. A female volunteer could work with either a male or a female child, but the male volunteer would be matched with a male. In some cases it was decided to assign a couple who volunteered to meet the needs of a child for a "family" image. The findings did not indicate that interaction with a volunteer substantially reduced misbehavior. The students having a volunteer (experimental group) were less likely to drop out of school than control group subjects.

> Research results from having investigated the effectiveness of a program are among the most difficult to interpret. Aside from methodological difficulties inherent in almost all research, such as measurements, there is the fundamental problem of how to judge success or failure. Common-sensically, most everyone would add criteria such as success in social work, family, and general citizenship.
>
> (Poorkaj & Bockelman, 1973, p. 31)

In 1972, Walter and O'Donnell reported on using nonprofessional volunteers as behavior change agents in a community-based program. The principles and techniques of behavior modification were used in the training of nonprofessionals as change agents and in the treatment of youth in the project. The program evaluation includes an analysis of the various treatment techniques employed. The results indicate that school attendance increased with application of social and material rewards, while other problem behavior was reduced. The findings suggest that peer approval is a crucial ingredient in the changing behavior.

Other Preventative Efforts

Barclay (1969) reports on the use of art, art programs, and art activities to reduce delinquency proneness in delinquent populations. Art was seen as a natural media through which expression could be shown and understanding achieved, overcoming the harsh influence of poverty and cultural or language disadvantagement. It was felt the program had to ignore headlines. These were the ability of the art to enrich the lives of the pre-delinquent youth, thus reducing their need for violence, and overcoming "educational disadvantages" by providing a value-rich course of instruction that did not remind the youth of their inability to achieve in daily school scholarly activities.

Cassel and Blum (1969) describe a computer-assisted counseling program. The purpose was to promote congruence between the social skill development of pre-delinquents by providing them conforming response choices to societal queries delivered by the computer. The program contained computer-delivered lessons on home and family, inner development, community relations, rules and law, school and education, psychosexual and romance, economic sufficiency, and self-actualization and leadership.

The work on Project Conscience continues at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. The most recent development in Project Conscience is the development of the Systems Analysis Approach to Counseling (SAAC), depicting to the many delinquent and delinquent-prone individuals with low competency in reading, video-audio loops of alternative choices to certain posed social problems, together with likely hazards for each alternative.

The new thrust at prevention, at least since the mid-1950's, has been the public schools. In fact, the schools are heavily involved in treatment at this point in time. Kvaraceus (1971) defines the role of the school counselor as an active one in mobilizing the forces of the school to confront delinquency proneness. He outlines three major provisos for the counselor.

> The school counselor can direct his energies against delinquency at three levels: (1) He can aim to improve the school program by making the school a better school. (2) He can attempt to identify the youngsters who are exposed or vulnerable to delinquent

> behavior, following through with preventative and remedial action, and (3) He can assist those students who have already been adjudicated as delinquents and are on probation, or those who have returned to the community after institutionalization and are still on parole.
>
> (Kvaraceus, 1971, p. 22)

Finkle, Sullivan, and Taylor (1968) have described an effort where adjudicated youth attended a citizenship training program established by the Boston Juvenile Court and were then paid to interview other delinquents. The apparent amount of insight gained by the interviews, plus the status and prestige from the new role, provided them with a new lease on life. The program was ascertained as highly successful, as it brought a sobering, if not therapeutic, process into the lives of these chronically disruptive youth. Kvaraceus has attempted to see the professional disciplines alter their roles. It has been his belief that only youth can solve the delinquency problem.

> Youth-serving agencies in which adults are subjects of the verb "serve" and youth are direct or indirect objects of the verb will be limited in their attempts to prevent and control norm-violating behavior.
>
> (Kvaraceus, 1971, p. 54)

It is his contention that "youth must become the subject of the verb 'serve'." He feels that the youthful energies must be organized toward delinquency prevention and control. He has prepared the following Table of Assumptions, Guiding Principles, and Participants as a means of guiding a planned organization of youth assisting youth.

Assumptions

1. Every youth needs to feel that there is a significant place for him in his immediate social world as an adolescent person.
2. Every adolescent needs to be able to exercise his intelligence, initiative, and growing maturity in solving problems of real concern to him and to the adult world.
3. Every youth needs to be given the opportunity to learn that his own life situation is not the only one there is.
4. Youth need to be incorporated in order to communicate and deal with the corporate structures maintained by adults, that is, police, school, courts, etc., in urbanized, bureaucratic, anonymous society.
5. The emergence of an adolescent subculture characterized by self-directing community participation is not likely to occur without specific adult leadership which:
   a. gives supportive guidance; that is, is responsive to adolescent problems, needs, and interests, both in terms of individuals and the group.
   b. is positive and symbolic; that is, in its behavior encourages identification of relevant values.
   c. practices appropriate manipulations; that is, is sensitive and effective in both intervention and withdrawal tactics designed to maximize self-direction and community participation.

Guiding Principles

Youth involvement in community action programs that aim to prevent and control delinquency will be guided by the following:

1. Self-direction and initiative of youth will be maximized.

2. Participation in vital and significant community activities and operations will be encouraged.

3. Adult role will be supporting and nondirective. The adult theme will be: "You can be free and significant; go ahead and try; you can count on us to help."

4. The first and major emphasis will be on the development of local units; later development will call for regional and state organization.

Participants

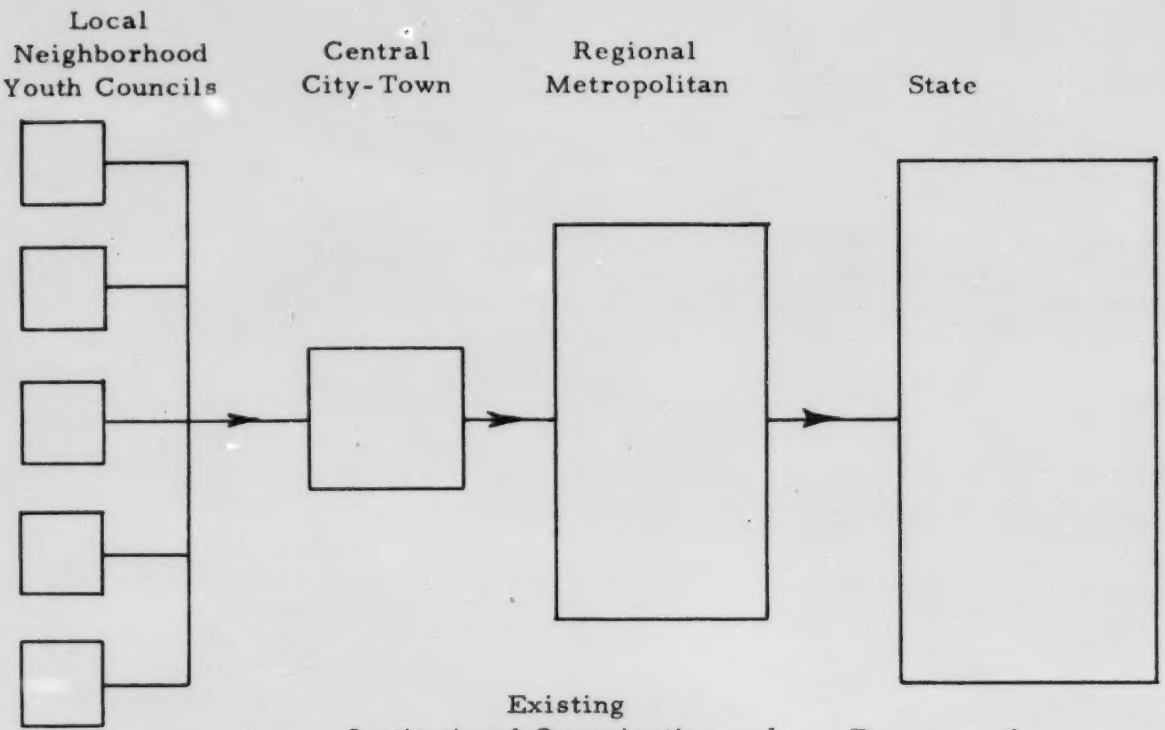
All youth up to voting age are eligible. This may call for two major (but overlapping) groups or segments, including the younger membership, 13-14 to 17-18 to 21-22.

Effort will need to be made to insure two-way communication without youth's losing linkage and identification with their own primary reference group, that is, avoiding the fink slur.

Participants can be elected, appointed by the mayor or other authority (selectman, governor), or designated as representatives by youth organizations. Various approaches need to be tried out in various situations to insure the most representative and active leadership among neighborhood youth.

(Kvaraceus, 1971, p. 55)

Organization and Program: Youth Council



Youth Participation	Existing Institutional Organization and Power Structure	Program of Activities
Youth Role: planners, data gatherers, deciders, advisors, implementors, participants, evaluators.	Adult Role: enablers, supporters, listeners, beneficiaries, and co-workers.	Research, planning, consulting, evaluating, implementing, participating.
Localization of action rather than centralization.	Working with & advising:	
Participation of youth as leverage to institutional change and improvement.	School Boards Police Department Recreation Centers Courts City Councils Legislative Bodies Mass Media PTA, Church Community Action Programs Unions Division of Employment & Security Private Industry (Tel & Tel, etc.)	Recreation Health & Welfare School Church Unions Political Police Courts Participation as: volunteers para-professionals work-study Youth Council as part of political structure.
Election? Selection? Appointment? of participants.		

(Kvaraceus, 1971, p. 56)

Benning (1968) reports on a five-year longitudinal study of 1,550 children, 384 of whom were intensively studied after being identified by their teachers as demonstrating socially approved or socially disapproved behavior. The socially disruptive group was lower in academic achievement and social adjustment than was true for the approved group. They displayed socially disapproved classroom behavior and were in frequent contact with law enforcement agencies. It was concluded that teacher disapproval, poor self-concept, and failure to gain approval scholastically significantly reinforce the attitude of the child to continue school underachievement and drop out, or to continue norm-violating behavior and overt criminality. The teacher must identify children exhibiting aggressive behavior and attempt to delineate its exact causes through curricular innovation. Curricular innovation can contribute markedly to a decreased school dropout rate. The difficulty is that methods of motivating and instructing the socially disruptive student are needed.

In first and second year reports on a project in the Cordozo area of Washington, D. C., Fishman and Jones (1965, 1966) sense that the problem is not preventing disruptive behavior in youth but preventing poverty and the ghetto influences on behavior.

A school district with a high concentration of low-income Negro youth was used as a target for the project. The research design included a base expectancy study to collect data for delinquency prediction, identify and study an adolescent cohort group of 14- to

17-year-olds. Studies of the cohort families and data on a sample of preschool population in the same district were also included. The preschool children's language responses to different stimuli under varying conditions were studied. It was hypothesized that there would be significant differences between institutionalized and noninstitutionalized youth on such factors as low socioeconomic status, education, family characteristics, intact or broken homes, social class aspirations, peer group behavior, and neighborhood deviancy. Without intervention, the high-risk group would have demonstrated delinquent behavior. The neighborhood centers in the target area appeared to have been effective in reducing juvenile delinquency. It is felt that the experience of this program shows that if interventions are to be more effective, they must concentrate on the specific problems in the ghetto as well as the youth.

In an early study, McGahan (1962) evaluated a preschool clinic's ability to detect the potential norm-violating behaviors of preschool children.

All children who were to enter the first grade in the fall visited a spring clinic roundup with one or both parents. An effort was made to detect health problems as well as to assess the child's social maturation. All families concerned were contacted by telephone, and an appointment was made at the rate of 15 to 20 children per half hour. Visual screening, audiometric evaluations, dental evaluations, and social-emotional-readiness evaluations and assessments were

performed by qualified personnel. At least 12 diagnostic functions were required for efficient prediction. Once the child entered the first grade, he either advanced regularly, passed through special transitory classes, or was detained a year to permit maturation.

Dailey (1966) studied the effect of various anti-delinquency school programs using a sample of 1,634 youths, 17 years of age. Eighty percent of the sample were youths referred to juvenile court in 1964-1965, and twenty percent were without court records. The school and community records were used to predict delinquency, almost regardless of such factors as school size, age of building, per pupil expenditure, overcrowding, or class size. Performance in school was directly related to juvenile crime. Schools play a most important role in delinquency prevention in reducing the number of students who failed to read adequately in the primary grades.

Moore (1962) reports on a court and school joint program in Oakland County, Michigan. Using court records before the program began, a 50 percent reduction in delinquency resulted as a community-wide effort known as child and family protective services was offered. Children and their families were helped before problems or offenses were serious enough to warrant court action. Programs were established jointly by the local school district and the juvenile court. The juvenile court functions as a community aid by having staff members of the court assigned to advise, assist, and provide casework. The major concern of the effort is the adequate

emotional and social adjustment of the child in his family, school, and neighborhood.

An investigation of students in two midwestern high schools found that delinquency rates were lower among athletes than non-athletes. The following five general theoretical positions each suggest that participation in interscholastic athletics will have a deterring influence on delinquency. These positions are as follows:

1. Delinquency as a Result of Differential Association

   Delinquency is posited as a result of exposure to deviant influences. Within a school, the chances of exposure to delinquent subgroups is inversely related to exposure to conforming influences. The strict standards of behavior set by the athletic coach and team are often internalized. The athletes themselves often exert pressure on their teammates to conform with these standards. Another factor which further reinforces the conforming influences of the team is the athletes' constant public scrutiny, especially in smaller communities.

2. Delinquency as a Result of Rebellion

   Rebellion is often directed at the school where students are measured against universalistic criteria which they cannot reach. They rebel against failure, lack of perceived payoff, and resentment of punitive sanctions. The athlete, most notably the successful one, finds school a source of success experience and a positive self and public evaluation of himself. . . rebellion is not necessary.

3. Delinquency as a Result of Boredom

   Athletes are less likely to become bored since their sports activities take up so much of their after school and weekend time. They are therefore less susceptible to delinquent influences than their comparable non-athlete peers.

4. Delinquency as a Result of Need to Assert Masculinity

Ferdinand points out that interscholastic athletics, as an institutionalized display of force, skill, strength, and competitiveness, serves as a visible nondelinquent way of demonstrating prowess and competence.

5. Delinquency as a Result of Labeling

Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance and then by applying those rules to particular people, thereby labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits but rather a consequence of sanctions to an "offender." The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label. For example, a white middle-class youngster may well not be referred to the juvenile authorities for a minor theft. For him, the act is defined as a mere adolescent prank. On the other hand, a lower-class Negro youth is much more likely to be apprehended and referred to the court for the same act.

Similarly, athletes, especially those who are successful and live in small communities, are more likely to be "protected" from apprehension and referral to the court by the public image they enjoy as being clean-cut, all-American boys, even when they commit delinquent acts. They may well be just as delinquent, in fact, but turn up less often in delinquency statistics.

Summary of Prevention Activities

Berleman and Steinburn (1969) reviewed five major delinquency prevention experiments. A delinquency prevention experiment was defined as having two major characteristics. These were: (1) a social service to chronically disruptive youth who were not yet officially

adjudged delinquent and (2) a research design that permitted a study of the study's effectiveness. The five experiments studied were the:

1. Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study
2. New York City Youth Board Validation of Glueck Prediction Scale
3. Maximum Benefits Project
4. Midcity Project
5. Youth Consultation Service

The Cambridge-Somerville Project

A $500,000 grant and a group of well-selected specialists established the Cambridge and Somerville Youth Project. The program became operative in 1939 with the selection of 650 boys, 325 in an experimental group who were given a wide range of treatments and 325 who remained in the control group. In 1956 a final assessment of the program was made after seventeen years of operation. Although the boys in the experimental group were assisted for an average of five years, they committed approximately as many crimes as those with no supervision.

New York City Youth Board

The New York City Youth Board, a validation study of the Glueck Social Prediction Scale, offered direct services to 29 experimental subjects for fifty months.

Maximum Benefits Project

The Maximum Benefits Project reported extended services to 111 subjects and their parents over eleven months. The average number of interviews per subject was less than one every two months and one interview per parent every month.

Midcity Project

The Midcity Project extended services to 205 subjects who were distributed among seven gangs. Service agents contacted these groups on an average of 3.5 times a week over a period ranging from ten to thirty-four months.

Youth Consultation Service

The Youth Consultation Service serviced 129 subjects over a three-year period. Sixteen percent had fewer than five contacts, while forty-four percent had "more than twenty."

Berleman and Steinburn (1969) summarize the results of the study in the following table (Table 1).

TABLE 1

Completed Delinquency Prevention Experiments, 1937-1965

Title	Place	Years	Subjects		Overall Evaluation of Service
			Experimental	Control	
Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study	Cambridge-Somerville, Mass.	1937-1945	325	325	Ineffective
New York City Youth Board Validation of Glueck Prediction Scale	New York City, NY	1952-1957	29	29	Ineffective
Maximum Benefits Project	Washington, D.C.	1954-1957	111	68	Ineffective
Midcity Project	Boston, Mass.	1954-1957	205	112	Ineffective
Youth Consultation Service	New York City, NY	1955-1960	189	192	Ineffective

(Berleman & Steinburn, 1969, p. 478)

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The overall negative findings of delinquency prevention experiments are disheartening. It is true that the experiments have been plagued by (1) the failure of the service agents to expose the experimental subjects to sufficient amounts of attention and (2) the failure of the researchers to report more than a gross evaluation. In spite of the great potential of preventive approaches, as yet there is no usable method of prevention. Those in authority are more interested in stopping crime rather than in studying why it occurs.

Could it be that something as basic to society as breaking its rules is a normal occurrence in nature? Durkheim (1938) suggested that "crime is normal because a society exempt from it is utterly impossible." (p. XXXVIII). Crime, Durkheim held, was not only normal, it was necessary. Without crime there would be no evolution in law. Crime is a social problem created by an infraction of a relative practice that will invariably be altered by time and place. Crime must not be viewed as an evil but as a process of faulty education, the inappropriate teaching of society's rules and its values.

Fifty years ago, Burt (1925) recommended six basic pillars of prevention and rehabilitation.

> 1. All young persons who show tendencies should be dealt with at the earliest possible stage. Parents should be taught that the preschool period is a period vitally decisive . . . Teachers should be urged to watch, and when necessary to report, all who show antisocial inclinations . . . When the school period is over, after-care workers should be persuaded to extend their supervision to the social conduct, as well as the industrial efficiency, of children who

have just left; and, above all, special efforts should be made to meet the transitional phase of adolescence.

2. The problem of delinquency in the young must be envisaged as but one inseparable portion of the larger enterprise for child welfare. Crime in children is not a unique, well-marked, or self-contained phenomenon to be handled solely by the policeman and the children's court. It touches the very side of social work. The teacher, the care committee worker, the magistrate, the probation officer, all who come into official contact with the child, should be working hand in hand, not only with each other, but with all the clubs, societies, and agencies, voluntary as well as public, that seek to better the day-to-day life of the child.

3. The delinquent himself must be approached individually as a unique human being with a peculiar constitution, peculiar difficulties, and peculiar problems of his own . . . The court, therefore, and whatever authority has to grapple with such cases, must at all times regard not the offense but the offender. The aim must not be punishment but treatment; and the target not isolated actions, but their causes . . . Such authorities must have access to all available information and possess means to make for every case intensive investigations of their own . . . A special investigator must report upon home circumstances; a medical officer must inspect the child for physical defects; a psychologist must be at hand to apply mental tests, to assess temperamental qualities, and to analyze unconscious motives. A psychological clinic embodying all these different workers studying the same cases scientifically, side by side, is the most pressing need of all.

4. The remedies, in the same way, will be adapted, not to the nature of the offense, but to the nature of the factors provoking it. Probation should be employed with a larger freedom, and at the same time with finer discrimination; it should include, for each separate case, not merely passive surveillance, but active and constructive efforts . . . After-care, in particular, calls for further extension, to lavish a hundred pounds upon the intensive training of a youth

in an institution and then suddenly to fling him loose into the old environment, sparing neither time nor trouble for further aid and following up, is not economy but waste.

5. Fuller knowledge is urgently wanted: it is wanted both in regard to causation of crime and in respect of the relative efficacy of different remedial measures. Only from the organization of research can this fuller knowledge come, and organized research means an established criminological department. The fruits of such research should be made immediately accessible to the practical officer, and courses of instruction should be arranged where all who have to deal with the young offender may learn the latest and best accredited results of modern criminology psychology.

6. Finally, society must aim at prevention as well as at cure. Housing, medical treatment, continued education, the psychological study of children in schools, improved industrial conditions, increased facilities for recreation, the cautious adoption of practicable eugenic measures, and above all, sustained investigation into all the problems of childhood--these are but a few of the countless needs to be supplied, if delinquency in the young is to be not merely cured as it arises, but diverted, forestalled, and so far as possible wiped out.

(Burt, 1925, pp. 584-587)

Rehabilitation

The third horseman of the chronically disruptive apocalypse is rehabilitation. Before any discussion can proceed on rehabilitation, it is necessary to briefly review the overlap among prevention, punishment, and rehabilitation. Prevention, in the delinquency literature, is generally regarded as the act of prohibiting the occurrence of an

unwanted behavioral act. In our review of prevention, we have observed that most prevention is directed at a high-risk group of youth, generally after they have developed, even to maturity, feelings of and attitudes toward society. Very few preventative efforts have occurred early in most children's lives, or have been directed at educating social skills or values. Most preventative methodologies have been devised to remediate symptoms usually following their occurrence. That means, in actuality, most so-called preventative programs are really rehabilitative efforts. Also, the results of most preventative intervention programs have been less than successful. We should probably not be discouraged by these findings as it is this writer's opinion that we have yet to understand what it is we are attempting to prevent. Until we truly understand the differentiation in the values, attitudes, or behaviors between various groups of youth, it will be difficult to determine what behaviors are to be curbed, reconstituted, or structured differently. Then, and only then, will we know what it is that needs to be prevented. Prevention, as a concept, sounds like it should occur first, in the natural order of events, when, in fact, it is the most difficult to implement and will generally occur last in most treatment paradigms.

Punishment is a very misunderstood concept and has a long history of use. As a concept in corrections, it has been used both as (1) a means of extracting a retribution for the criminally injured and as (2) a supposed deterrent to crime. Neither of these reasons has

result in the effective use of punishment. The use of punishment to destroy the will of man, to impose the rule of society on the rebellious, to dehumanize, to thwart or repress the spirit of a man is not only amoral in a social sense but also draws a line of criminal demarcation between men. Punishment has two very worthwhile purposes: first, to protect society from injury by those who defy corrective intervention; and second, to clarify that social living is not an inalienable right but an earned privilege. Punishment serves to clearly delineate those behaviors which are unacceptable to man in his relationship to other men, and man in relationship with his environment. Punishment is not the antithesis of rehabilitation that some have made it out to be. It is an alternative form of management of socially nonconforming behavior that is necessary in conjunction with rehabilitation, and instead of it at times.

Rehabilitation, according to Webster, is to restore to a former state of usefulness. Therefore, it may even be an inappropriate term. Habilitation, or the qualifying of a person's ability to perform at some level of function, may be more appropriate. To avoid a meaningless academic play on words, operationally, rehabilitation or habilitation mean the restoration or preparation of a nonconforming person to a meaningful life within the framework of social acceptance. Any treatment effort or intervention directed at reducing unfavorable attention received by the person for a disruptive act against self or society could be classified as habilitory or rehabilitory. The

remaining part of this chapter will be used to review some of the treatment interventions commonly practiced, the implications resulting from their use, and the results obtained. Many of the treatment efforts used in specific interventions in behavioral management, reading, vocational programs are reviewed in those chapters. Therefore, this is certainly not a total review of most of the existing programs but a clarification of the more obvious approaches, strategies, intervention efforts, and what they offered to a specified treatment population.

Institutionalization as a Treatment Measure

The question as to why delinquents are removed from society and what to do with them once they are removed has plagued many professions and countless professional persons. Norm-violating youth have been institutionalized to protect society from their acts. However, much of the rationalization has been that institutionalization is rehabilitating.

The effectiveness of institutional efforts to return youth as non-disruptive persons has not been researched systematically. The rate of recividism is high, ranging up to eighty percent (Konopka, 1970), depending upon the state. One of the major difficulties in reviewing the success, or lack of it, in institutional programs is that the nature of the program varies considerably even within states.

Kahn and McFarland (1973) studied 47 youth admitted over a five-month period to an institution. Pre-treatment data were obtained including demographic, family and social history, the Culture Fair Scale of Intelligence, the Step Reading Test, the Jesness Inventory (a personality questionnaire for delinquent youths), the HSPQ Personality Questionnaires, and behavior ratings. These behavior ratings were completed within the first two weeks of the subject's (S's) stay by the counselor in their individual cottage, by each S's individual case worker, and by the teachers of demographic-social-history data. Pre-testing of academic level and personality variables was obtained from counselors', case workers', and teachers' rating scales. Just prior to discharge, post-test and the rating measures were again obtained. Changes in scores were considered measures of the effect of the institution's program on the youth.

The institutional program consisted of a cottage living arrangement with cottage counselors, a case worker for each boy (and his family if indicated), as well as a fully-staffed and accredited school on the institution's grounds. Group and individual counseling were available from the staff and a mental health consultant. The program attempted to create environmental situations that paralleled community situations. "The thrust of the treatment program then was toward better preparing the S's to handle normal social demands rather than toward conditioning to abnormal institutional life." (Kahn & McFarland, 1973, p. 282).

The mental age was 12.8 years with slightly over six previous arrests. The most frequent reasons for their commitment were stealing and property destruction (37%), incorrigibility (25%), and truancy (19%). Violent acts represent six percent. Thirty-seven percent lived in broken homes; seventy-two percent came from disruptive houses.

Their mothers' average age was 35.2 years, and they had an average of 5.8 years of education. Their fathers averaged 34.9 years of age, were somewhat less well educated than the mothers, and occupationally slightly less skilled.

The most significant pre-post test change was in the academic skills. A statistically significant increase ($p < .05$) in measured IQ was also found. These indicators of academic improvement were supported by the ratings of the school teachers, which showed a significant improvement ($p < .01$) from admission to discharge in all of the ten areas of classroom behavior rated. The teachers' ratings included variables such as refraining from disrupting classroom, remaining in class during the period, cleanliness, turning in assignments, and willingness to make friends.

In the ratings of behavior in the overall living situation, the S's case workers tended to see more change than did the cottage counselors. Since some items were not rated and several counselors had changed over the period of the study, these ratings were not analyzed statistically. Inspection of these scales, however, suggested

changes in terms of improvement on variables such as less impulsiveness, more adequate control, better socialization with both boys and the staff, and perhaps most important, increased responsibility for both assigned tasks and for his behavior.

The personality questionnaires tended to confirm the improved behavioral ratings by teachers, counselors, and case workers. The youth made 3 to 6 standard score improvements ($p < .01$) on all five Jesness Scales (social maladjustment, value orientation, alienation, manifest aggression, and social index). They failed to show marked improvement on social anxiety, repression, and denial. It would appear that as self-control and responsibility increase, so does anxiety. This study indicates good social restoration for chronically disruptive youth as a result of a well-rounded institutional program. Our observations and research (see Chapter I) would support this finding. The unanswered question is the ability of the youth to maintain this personal-social growth once he has reentered the "old pressures" of home and community.

Clayson (1969) deviated from the standard search for behavioral change by measuring or observing, and sought information on basic personality change through measures of concept formation. It was his assumption that the mark of social restoration is easy to do, but meaningful value changes which reflect the individual's subjective reality are difficult to alter.

The experimental group consisted of 45 boys housed in cottages in a federal institution, and 40 boys in a similar setting served as control subjects. A second noninstitutional group of 93 boys was drawn from a local high school located in a low socioeconomic neighborhood.

The experimental program (Cottage Life Intervention Program - CLIP) had three divisions: (1) Activity Program, (2) Group Program, and (3) Individual Interviews. The project was conducted by three counselors, each being assigned one-third of the subjects in the experimental cottage.

The Activity Program was composed of recreational things--visits to the gymnasium, hobby/craft activities, movies, pool, table tennis, crafts, and other table games. The Activity Program, which was conducted twice weekly, provided an informal encounter designed to lessen the role restriction behavior between authority figures and the youth.

The Group Program involved both small group meetings and the cottage forum. It provided an occasion to complain, question, and generally explore any relevant issues.

The Individual Interviews were designed to establish a counseling relationship through three avenues of personal contact: (1) regular individual monthly interviews, (2) special attention sessions, and (3) informal private discussions during activity periods.

> These findings suggest that significant modifications in the conceptual experience of the social deviant are possible, in a relatively short period of time, within the framework of a corrective institution. Since a delinquent's actions relate dynamically to the way he develops meanings for the world around him, such modifications imply a much sought-after increase in potential for positive changes in overt behavior. The study demonstrated that the raw materials needed to produce this meaningful influence on the subjective reality of an adolescent boy are, in great part, already available in public institutions, within the ranks of nonprofessional personnel, and within existing programs and facilities which can be more gainfully exploited.
>
> (Clayson, 1969, p. 465)

In a similar study, Tymchuk (1973) randomly assigned 48 institutionalized retarded delinquent boys to one of two experimental conditions or a contrast condition. The subjects were asked to learn superordinate concepts from lists of verbal similarities. The theory underlying this work is that most cultural-familial retarded children lack cognitive language ability because of a lack of training experience. And, it is that poor language development that causes many of the poor reading, school achievement, and verbal interaction skills associated with delinquent youth. The subjects had a Wechsler intelligence score from 60 to 80 IQ's on full-scale measures.

One list of words was similarities of the same concept; the others used words representing different concepts. The youth showed a significant increase in their verbal abstracting following familiarization with the higher-order concepts. This familiarization generalized to other examples of the same concepts, but not to different concepts.

> These results suggest that the low verbal abstracting performance that is found in the cultural-familial retarded individual may be a function of a lack of familiarity with some of the higher-order concepts rather than to a lack of verbal abstracting ability.
> (Tymchuk, 1973, p. 554)

Concept familiarization enabled these subjects to use these concepts 30 hours later. Rapid memory loss does suggest that these concepts are not part of the environment of the cultural-familial retarded person. Increasing the number of samples did not improve verbal abstracting ability. Training is needed before other concepts become familiar. Of the two procedures, concept familiarization appears to be the most effective strategy for training purposes.

A plan of using contracts prepared for a two-week time period for every incarcerated youth enrolled in a school program has been described by Pappas (1970). This program was instituted on a rather wholesale basis in a large correctional facility to obtain results in obtaining desired behavioral change and increasing academic learning in school subject areas. Each youth was given the opportunity to freely choose what he wanted to achieve in a given subject, or what target behavior he wished to improve, and to what degree. A contract was prepared and progress records kept of daily performance for the contractual period.

Vocational-Oriented Institutional Programs

There has been a notable number of different orientations directed at changing the outlook of youth and providing them salable job skills. One such approach is described by Tobias (1968). It has a different focus because it attempted to work with suburban middle-income norm-violating youth. Generally speaking, most chronically disruptive youth are from lower socioeconomic strata. There are some data to support the fact that the incidence of suburban, middle-class delinquency is rising. It is generally true that middle-class youth have more court escape routes and that the amount of disruptive behavior they display frequents that of the lower socioeconomic groups. It has been suggested that a lack of work activities and parental guidance, related to boredom, and the so-called suburban matriarch resulting from busy fathers' absence from the home are causal factors.

The delinquent youth in the study, when contrasted with non-delinquent youth, participated in a greater number of activities including sports, clubs, church, school, musical groups, scouts, and odd jobs, chores, and part-time jobs of all types. The work-related attitude of delinquents and nondelinquents was significantly different, indicating that life's future goals, and future image of self, are highly dissimilar. The result is that delinquent youth have a pressing need for pre-vocational and vocational exposure to alter their attitudes and

increase their belief in themselves as productive, contributing members of society.

One such approach at changing attitude was directed at offering a comprehensive vocationally-oriented psychotherapy to lower socio-economic male youth. Comprehensive vocationally-oriented psychotherapy attempts to integrate the three services of vocational placement, remedial education, and psychotherapy. The initial contact is at a time of crisis,, usually when the boys are suspended from school. Additional explanation of this program is provided in the prevention discussion section.

Evaluation of the program measured three dimensions--overt behavior, academic achievement, and personality function. Marked changes were noted at 10-month treatment periods. Significant improvement was found in the treated group in the areas of reading, vocabulary, arithmetic fundamentals, and arithmetic problems. Changes in ego functioning were very marked by significant improvement in self-image and control of aggression. The control group, on the other hand, showed no change and revealed marked deterioration in social skills.

A five-year followup of the experimental and control boys has been completed. Significantly, improvement did not come through the usual educational channels of high school but through vocational training. Table 2 shows the type of changes displayed by the experimental subjects; Table 3 shows the changes by the control subjects.

TABLE 2

JOB HISTORY AND LEGAL STATUS ON FIVE-YEAR FOLLOWUP

(Experimental Group)

BOY NO.*	NO. OF JOBS SINCE JUNE 1966	PRESENT POSITION	PAY	FORMAL SCHOOLING SINCE JUNE 1966	LEGAL STATUS AND MISCELLANEOUS SINCE JUNE 1966
Experimental 1	0	Tester wtih an electronics firm	$2.10	Electronics course offered by company	No arrests, married, 1 child.
2	1	Auto body foreman	$4.20	None	No arrests, 1 disorderly conduct charge heard and informally dealt with. Married, no children. Seen by family service for marital coumseling.
3	0	U.S. Army—career soldier	--	U.S. Army personnel clerk school	No arrests, single.
4	1	Works for city as rubbish collector	$2.30	None	No arrests, married, 2 children.
5	2	Photography studio assistant	$2.10 day $1.65 night	Graduated from high school in 1966. Attending photography school part-time.	No arrests, married, 1 child. Holds second job in gas station at night.
6	3	Unemployed	--	None	Single, 1 arrest on assault & battery after release from state hospital (2-year suspended sentence). Walk-in at psychiatric clinic.
7	1	Unemployed	--	None	Two arrests on traffic violations. Single.
8	0	Draftsman	$3.75	None	No arrests, married, 1 child.
9	0	Mechanic	$3.50	General Motors transmission school	One arrest for driving under the influence. Married.
10	1	Mechanic	$3.85	None	No arrests, married, 1 child.

* In order that comparisons could be made on each individual, each boy's number is the same as in the other studies reported.

(Shore & Massimo, 1969, p. 24)

TABLE 3

JOB HISTORY AND LEGAL STATUS ON FIVE-YEAR FOLLOWUP

(Control Group)

BOY NO.[a]	NO. OF JOBS SINCE JUNE 1966	PRESENT POSITION	PAY	FORMAL SCHOOLING SINCE JUNE 1966	LEGAL STATUS AND MISCELLANEOUS SINCE JUNE 1966
Control 1	3	Makes donuts for donut shop	$1.60	None	Separated from wife, 1 child. Two arrests—car theft (2 years suspended sentence), drunk & disorderly (pending). On probation.
2	3	Unemployed	--	None	One arrest for car theft. Spent 6 months in house of correction. Single.
3	5+	Garbage truck driver for city	$2.35	None	One arrest on possession of marijuana (suspended sentence). Married, no children.
4	2	Mailman for firm	$2.10	None	No arrests, married, 1 child.
5	4	Unemployed (part-time short-order cook)	--	None	Completed 2-year sentence for grand larceny. On probation. Single.
6	0	Assembly line	$1.80	None	Two arrests—traffic violations (license suspended), drunk & disorderly. On probation. Married but separated.
7	Whereabouts unknown. Family gone. Believed to be in California.				
8	3	Mechanic	$3.00	General Motors transmission school	No arrests, married, no children.
9	--	--	--	--	Serving 5–10 years in state penitentiary for manslaughter. Single.
10	3	Gas station attendant	$1.65	None	Three arrests—drunk & disorderly, suspicion of narcotics, assault. Trial pending.

[a] In order that comparisons could be made on each individual, each boy's number is the same as in the other studies reported.

(Shore & Massimo, 1969, p. 24)

The number of jobs held by the treated boys had decreased significantly in the last two-year period compared with the first two or three years following treatment. The youth had settled down career wise and no longer felt a need to change jobs frequently. The number of jobs held by the boys in the control group over this period was significantly higher than in the treated group. The types of jobs and the levels of earlier attainment seemed important. Those with limited job skills did find gainful employment over long periods but in unskilled jobs, and they showed involvement in many legal difficulties.

> The most distressing finding thus far, however, is the outcome of those who have had contact with the agents of society that are set up to rehabilitate the deviant--the state hospital and the prisons. All who had had contact with these agencies were unemployed, and often again in trouble with the law. If the correlation between unemployment and legal involvement continues (as seems likely), the prognosis for this group is indeed poor. Such a finding certainly adds additional support to the need for finding ways of helping these individuals, ways which differ from the current, often outmoded institutional framework.
>
> (Shore & Massimo, 1969, p. 24)

Community Treatment: Alternative Plans to Institutionalization

Slavet (1963) has reported on a youth opportunity project in Boston designed to utilize all community resources in the war on disruptive behavior. The project's activities in the community are action-oriented and the goals for this attack are (1) to reduce the volume and

seriousness of criminal-type behavior of male youth 12 through 16 years of age in the specified target areas of the city, (2) the key factors in the problem that presumably can be manipulated to bring about change are selected, based on the fact that (3) lower-class youth's experiences have produced a set of values and expectations that diverge sharply from those of the community, and (4) to work to improve the mutual misunderstanding and obtain appropriate expectations for each child in a given community setting. The youth and the community should be brought closer by this type of intervention on both sides. Service centers were proposed including legal, employment, educational, medical, other social services. A youth-training and employment program was offered youths who were unemployed. Eight different programs were planned with the Boston Public Schools, including a reading, prekindergarten, guidance advisors, and school adjustment counseling program. The second group consisted of work-study, tutoring, ability identification and development, and home-school liaison. During the summer, a combination camp-school program and a college campus program were planned.

Vachon (1972) has written a description of the Massachusetts plan to reform institutions for adjudicated youth by returning the youth to half-way homes, closing down the schools. In essence, all of the youth would receive community-based treatment programs. The rationale for such sweeping change is provided by what might be termed Vachon's six consequences of incarceration.

These consequences of incarceration are:

1. It costs as much to maintain a juvenile in residence in a state facility as it would cost to send him to a prestigious prep school.

2. The children are poor, generally blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos. A Massachusetts survey taken before the institutions were closed showed that 89 percent of the inmates came from homes where parents were on, or eligible for, public assistance.

3. They are not institutions of learning. The skills taught are generally obsolete.

4. Their professional personnel are generally of low caliber.

5. The recidivism rate is directly proportionate to the amount of time spent in institutions. Youth spending several years in an institution almost always spend their life incarcerated.

6. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, reform schools throughout the country are prime devourers of the lard doled from the political pork barrel. Jobs in the schools from top to bottom are political appointments, and local politicians are fighting tenaciously to retain this power to make appointments.

(Vachon, 1972, p. 72)

Dr. Jerome Miller, director of the Massachusetts program, closed out the first institution in 1970. He continued to shut down the institutions, placing the youth in alternative programs in forest camps, in community-based court liaison programs, private homes of youth advocate workers, and a complex of group homes. The reader should not assume that this swift action and violent reforms were not without its critics. Critics always mark change and planned change is the only way to obtain progress.

"Jerome Miller talks about halfway houses for these disturbed kids, but I'll fight him all the way," says Charles D. Kelly, a forty-seven-year-old Korean War veteran, father of five, an attorney whose family has been in Boston since 1850. "A sixteen-year-old girl was coming home from work in my community of Malden. She wasn't out looking for trouble or anything. She was coming home from her job. Two boys grabbed her and pulled her into a hallway, raped her, and performed unnatural acts on her. When police found her, she was crumpled in the corner, blindfolded, and had welts all over her body. They caught the boys who did it right away, and one of them had been released by DYS two weeks earlier. I know this because I had defended one kid."

"As a defense attorney, I never lost a kid on a third appearance that I recall," Kelly says. "But after a fourth or fifth time, you know you've got a real hard-liner on your hands. And if a kid's been caught five times, there were probably ten other times that he wasn't caught. I've had them in my office actually joking about it. But this Jerome Miller wants to put them in halfway houses with no rules or discipline. He doesn't believe in locks and bars."

Captain Anthony Francis, commander of the Worcester Police Juvenile Division, feels very much the way Kelly does. "They take these kids with six and seven counts against them--and they put them right out into the street," Francis says. "I just can't see that. If Miller couldn't control the institutions, he shouldn't have taken the job. There are ways to control staff. If he wanted to get rid of the deadwood, he should have asked the attorney general to empanel a blue-ribbon grand jury. He had plenty of alternatives. But what's he do? He lets these kids loose."

Captain Francis speaks for a large percentage of the police force in the commonwealth who are bitter over not being consulted.

(Vachon, 1972, p. 74)

The question of suitable alternatives to institutes is a topic that simply must be explored to its limits. There is a growing feeling that community treatment in some form or other must replace the

institution. What are the types of group homes necessary, and how should they be staffed, administered, and budgeted into community treatment, work-study programs, education, etc.? A review of the literature turns up very little about these matters. It is generally agreed (Konopka, 1970) that:

1. Group homes should not exceed five or six youngsters.

2. Group homes must not be false imitations of family-type homes but small youth societies.

3. The primary objectives of group homes is to teach human relationships which, it is assumed, enhance a youngster's self-respect.

4. The neighborhood must be involved--the citizens and community agencies.

5. There should be variance in the types of group homes available to receive youth, based on the various degrees of readiness to form relationships with the available community treatment programs.

6. Vocationally-oriented youth and educationally-oriented youth are different groups and will need different home living conditions. Those in more traditional self-restoration programs will need yet another type of home. Again, the group home must reflect the type of peer relationships which will support and reinforce prosocial attitudes toward the task at hand.

7. In essence, the group social influence of the youth in the home should provide an "in unity there is strength" theme. In an attack on the problem, the goal of inhibiting and reinforcement antisocial feelings, while developing pro-social feelings was questioned.

8. Pre-vocational preparation, personal attitude not adjustment, and other preparatory work must precede placement in a group home. The general rule should be that individual preparation must precede group work.

9. Each youth's attitude toward the community reintegration should be understood and a treatment program designed with clearly stated objectives to institute pro-social attitudes.

10. Finally, a group home is not an active treatment facility; it is a peer regulating facility which reinforces treatment, social attitudes, attitudes toward work, and feelings toward oneself and others.

Schafer (1969) has found a strong negative relationship between athletic participation and delinquency. His review of 585 boys' high school records in two midwest high schools showed that 7 percent of the delinquents were active in athletic competition, while 17 percent of the nonathletic group reviewed were delinquent.

As predicted, athletes are less often delinquent than non-athletes and the relationship is more marked among youth in blue-collar families and academic low achievers. It is still possible that athletics attracts conformers. The negative relationship between athletic participation and delinquency may not be the result of the deterrent influence of athletics at all, but rather to the attitude of the boy who becomes an athlete in the first place.

The state of Washington has developed a state Youth Development and Conservation Corps (YDCC). It was developed to conserve natural resources and human resources by giving young men the opportunity to develop vocational skills and personality traits. Twelve-man teams live and work for six-week periods in state parks. The youth are provided room, board, and $25 per week. The youth are selected because of delinquency problems. The age range is 14 to 21, with an

average age of 16-1/2. Girls are now included in the program. The courts, schools, legislation consider the program to be a great success. The court records of incarcerated girls in a Tennessee state institution for correction revealed that over 60 percent had been institutionalized because of truancy and incorrigibility.

A treatment model designated "Educo-therapy," utilizing the disciplines of both psychology and education as an intensive treatment program was offered in solution. Educo-therapy has three phases or progressive levels. The three are: (1) behavior modification, (2) remedial education, and (3) ego-development.

> It was predicted that if a child could experience success in learning and find gratification and reinforcement in academic achievement, many of his maladaptive behaviors, which were in evidence within the classroom, would be reduced or removed entirely. A subjective evaluation by the conservative institutional staff enthusiastically supported the belief that "educo-therapy" shaped academic learning and provided an effective means of coping with disruptive emotional behavior. A modified version of the pilot project has been incorporated into the regular program of this institution.
>
> (Rice, 1970, p. 25)

State of the "Rehabilitation" Act in Correctional Education

Feldman, Wodarski, Flax, and Goodman (1972) have examined the efficacy of the traditional helping institutions. They set forth three general postulates. These were:

1) Few institutional structures, other than tridi-tional ones, are available.

2) All theories of chronic disruptiveness can be reinterpreted to support the use of traditional manpower and service delivery.

3) The effective use of traditional resources depends on a redefinition of treatment, with only minor alterations in administrative restructuring.

A traditional institution is one whose services and programs offer recreational, educational, cultural, or leisure-time programs on campus. These institutions can be classified as closed settings in that the bulk of the incarcerated population is behind closed walls and doesn't enter into any interaction or relationship with any outside (non-institutional) agency or person. The common fallacy of closed institutional systems is the frequent conflict which results between the custodial and therapeutic objectives of its members.

The chapter on program administration, Chapter IX, spells this problem out in great detail. The high failure rate of closed correctional facilities is apparently due to the limited amount of treatment and abundance of peer-role modeling on antisocial behaviors among the incarcerated youth. Antisocial skills are learned; attitudes previously not formed against authority are formed; and the youth have ample opportunity to learn how to attack society, even if they entered the institution with pro-social feelings.

A second factor apart from the overwhelming antisocial role modeling aspect is the total lack of transfer between rehabilitation

programs in the institution and real life in the community. Integrating school curriculum so that it reflects that taught in the hometown schools, or providing salable, vocational job skills, just has not happened. The closed institution usually only pays lip service to preparing the youth for life beyond its walls. Its major effort is to have the youth learn the rules of the institutional social order.

The discontinuity between correctional institutions and the community has been eased somewhat by transitional facilities such as halfway houses, group homes, and short-term detention centers. In these facilities, rehabilitation has been more successful than those of closed institutions. Rehabilitation efforts are greatly increased when ancillary treatment facilities are developed, they may be attached to a residential facility, or remain as a community treatment effort. Such transitional strategies as conjugal visits, home furloughs, tend to effectively neutralize the negative influence of deviant peer-group models. The cost of care in closed facilities averages $3,400 to $6,000 a year per capita cost for youth.

Thus, factors militating against effective rehabilitation in correctional institutions include conflicting organizational objectives, deviant peer-group modeling, limited transfer of institutional behavior to the community, labeling of residents, and high rehabilitation/cost benefit ratios. Open institutional programs have certain advantages. Costs are lower, overcrowding is not a factor, the issues between custodial and treatment goals disappear, and immediate transferability

of behavior changes is assured. Labeling and deviant peer-group modeling remain a problem to some extent. Community programs are not without their adversities.

Traditionally, most communities have been conditioned to lock up "bad kids" away from the geographic area in which they were found. Community agencies have not responded well to having many youth remain in their same environment. And, the public schools and some legal agencies have been rather uncooperative in both attitude and participation in community programs. If community treatment programs are to reflect increased reduction in recidivism, the anti-social structure of the treatment group must give way to a group containing youth with pro-social attitudes. If a bad apple can spoil a barrel full of apples, then a barrel full of apples can influence the entire fruit storage area. And, that is what happens.

It is generally believed that to integrate a limited number of children with behavioral problems into community treatment programs, several things are needed. These are (1) the therapeutic potential of community treatment agencies must be increased; (2) pro-social youth must be added to any treatment group of totally disruptive youth; (3) the likelihood that a youth will be classified for a treatment institution must be safeguarded; and (4) no more than three chronically disruptive youth should be enrolled in a given community program, at the same time, unless special considerations are given.

Community Rehabilitation and the Schools

It is impossible to discuss the rehabilitation of chronically disruptive youth without some set of comments concerning private and public schools. There is a great deal of theorization that the perceived irrelevance of public school education by chronically disruptive youth is one of the major causes of delinquency. Certainly, the amount of truancy, as a symptom of delinquency, and as a reason for adjudication, cannot go unnoted. Gold (1963) has indicated that the higher a boy's academic achievement, the better the chances of getting a job in the community (except for white-collar delinquents), and the less likely he is to become adjudicated. Pearl (1965) notes:

> Growing failure may be also in part due to growing recognition that there is no payoff in the system for them. Some of the rebellion, hostility, and anxiety that youth feel are directly related to school pressures.
>
> (Pearl, 1965, p. 95)

What are the two problems with the public education in its inability to focus effectively and offer either preventative or rehabilitative efforts with norm-violating youth? First, it is total lack of commitment on the part of most school systems. Secondary teachers are especially oriented toward curriculum content and the teaching of subject matter and not the teaching of youth. In essence, they are more interested in grades and how one youngster does in comparison with another than the teaching of social values.

It is frequently difficult for youth returning from residential facilities to be accepted into public schools. They frequently are unable, because of grades, or records, or labels, to take part in extracurricular activities. They are subject to ridicule from teachers, peers, and parents. In essence, they are labeled as bad, and reinforced to be bad. Whether that reinforcement is inadvertent is not the question. Until a greater process of humanization takes place in the public schools and that agency examines its attitude and information competency level toward delinquents, little can be done.

The second problem is the common kinds of symptoms including smoking, truancy, tardiness, classroom demeanor, relationship with peers, respect for authority that delinquents tend to display. For each of these, they may be punished. Each time they are punished, the punishment cycle can be exacerbated. That is, frequently in many school systems a first detention is for so many minutes, a second detention doubles the time, a third offense triples the time. This is an example of compounding and providing inadvertent attention and reinforcement to a problem that everyone knows exists. Alternative forms of pupil management and pupil control, other than the overpunitive sanctions such as grading down, locking individuals out, expulsion, suspension, withdrawal of extracurricular privileges, must be explored. Greater work assignments, requesting a delinquent to enter an extracurricular activity, providing individual contracts with the youth on what they expect to do with strong contingencies of

punishment and reinforcement are some avenues that seemingly need to be explored.

Another factor which has amply been discussed in the last ten years is that of the school as a middle-class oriented value system and its effects on youngsters from the lower socioeconomic classes. There is a general belief in schools that wealth begets wealth and that disadvantaged pupils may suffer from limited potential. This belief may not be acknowledged openly, but it seemingly is frequently there and is more than implied. The facts are that inner city schools do not receive textbooks as frequently as suburban schools. Inner city schools may not have the extracurricular programs that suburban schools have by the comprehensive nature of their high school structures. They do not have the number of resource teachers, and the variety of services and programs at the elementary school level.

An additional factor is irrelevant instruction. Minority groups in many inner city hard-fought ghetto areas find that when they enter school, the curriculum material is directed toward the "great white way." Ethnicity and racial characteristics that are different than Caucasian are frequently singled out as inferior. That, seemingly, is a product of the curriculum developers. School programs have not emphasized ethnic, bilingual, or bicultural programs to any extent at all. Most of the text materials are still college directed; most of the orientation in most high schools is to college-bound youth. Those who are not college-bound are quickly identified as second-class citizens.

The materials used are seldom relevant to real-life experience. Most of the curricular materials have little appeal to a street-wise audience. The reading level and interest level are never compatible for poor readers with mature interests. It is obvious that the tools of the educational trade are restrictive, limited, and differentiate high school age youth into two major categories--college-bound and non-college-bound. Since most youth who will need rehabilitative efforts as chronic offenders are not college-bound, they suffer from a totally inadequate educational experience, inadequate in terms of any of their desires and wishes.

If the teaching methods and curricular materials used are inappropriate, then much of the attitude that the teachers maintain, and the human relationships and interactions between teacher and youth, are also highly inappropriate. The mold of acceptable behavior is fairly limited; the youth who violate that mold are earmarked as different, and differences are frequently not tolerated. The inability of a youth to be accepted and any feelings of rejection that he might have frequently cause him to respond as he is so labeled. This piece of self-fulfilling prophecy on the part of the youth is greeted with "just as I expected" attitudes from the teachers. Thus, a cycle of action and reaction which closes with no hope for the youth to reinforce the completed cycle evolves.

Testing, grouping, and tracking have received a great deal of attention as necessary educational paraphernalia at this point in time.

Youth with verbal deficiencies and bilingual and bicultural differences are frequently at a serious disadvantage on group tests measuring academic achievement, mental ability, or other aptitudes. The problem, then, becomes that youth are locked into groups and tracked with youngsters like themselves. At that point, antisocial attitudes are learned because they are the prevalent model and pro-social attitudes are forgotten. The value structure between teacher and student of the tracks frequently becomes an obvious at-war situation. Usually there is a complete absence of remedial structure in the lower tracks. Although remediation in these tracks is obviously acknowledged, it is rarely practical. The teaching material used throughout all tracks is generally the same. In fact, it is little wonder that these tracks are not turned into remedial settings. My guess is that if common "daddy" remediation was used, it would further degrade the "tracks," providing greater differentiation among them.

Vocational educational experiences are frequently too job specific, training youngsters in areas where they cannot possibly get positions. When that occurs, areas where they can obtain work are overlooked. An example would be the number of youth who are trained as automobile mechanics because they think they want to learn about cars, when the jobs in the community are frequently in food handling. It seems more romantic to build a hot, shiny car than to make pizza.

It would also appear that there is a complete lack of teaching concerning the law and conditions contributing to delinquency, for youth

who have a history or predisposition tending towards disruptive behavior. In short, group guidance and classroom instruction pointing out the alternatives to disruptive behavior and norm-violation should be undertaken, as should a reflective attitude on the part of the public school educational community towards social values as they are internalized in adolescents and become permanent value structures.

The rehabilitation section in this chapter is purposely short and not comprehensive since most of the other chapters discuss specific aspects of the rehabilitation service programs. This chapter has served as more of a review of some of the things that have happened, examining specific program content, any available data, and walking through the traditional closed institutions, and the current open community-based concepts. There is hardly any other way to close this chapter except to quote Empey (1967) who writes: "Unfortunately the available data concerning rehabilitation programs for delinquents regardless of their social context have shown mixed results at best." (p. 79)

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